/141 cont'd/

585 be emptied, but luckily, a guest, seeing my predicament, came to
574 my rescue and persuaded the host to let me go. At this moment, I took the opportunity to flee from the house as if I were being released from jail. A few steps outside the village gate, we saw a Hsiao lying at the side of the road, dead drunk and snoring profusely, while another Hsiao, a little more sober, swaying back and forth, walked ahead of us, with a scythe still hanging at his side. Afraid that he might get fresh and start playing with his scythe, we followed him all the way at a reasonable distance. Before long he fell down and lay on the road, upon which sight, we felt much relieved and proceeded on our way. When we arrived at Wen-hua center, we lodged in the primary school there.

Third month, tenth day. (Wednesday)

586 In the morning we strolled to Mao-mien village. Two comely
582 Ch'i girls talked to me for a long time. The girls were not bad-looking, but they had both had an unfortunate fate. When they were small, their parents had given them in marriage to two elderly grey-haired men. When asked whether they were willing to live with their husbands to old age, one gave a resolute "No," and the other replied, "What can I do if I do not like it?" When asked again why they were not living with their husbands, they said that, according to Li custom, a girl, after marriage, /142/ still stays in her mother's home, and until she has found another man and borne a child from this illicit union, she would not go back to live with her husband. As she talked, her manner was natural and frank without a sign of bashfulness.

361 We spent the day visiting four or five small villages in the vicinity, which were all occupied by Ch'i and Li with the surname Huang. The villages ranged from almost only ten or so families to scarcely three or four, and they looked unusually desolate. There were some sick persons in almost every village. There was an old
755 woman in Fan-san-pai village, dying whom her family asked us to cure. When we had no medicine for her, they looked rather

/94 cont./ When the agreement
585 is reached an inauspicious /sic/ day is chosen to welcome the
[292] wife. The bride wears a moon-white gown and walks holding a parasol, half open, half shut, called the shame-hiding parasol. Her father and mother, brothers, and relatives escort her to
[583] the husband's house. The dowry consists of everything from cattle and sheep and goats to plows and harrows. They do not enter by the main door but through a hole bored through a wall. Men and women sit together. The bride is not allowed to look left or right, or else the husband would be displeased for fear that shermay be fond of some one else. The couple takes each a bowl of rice, a piece of fish, and a cup of wine dregs. Next they visit the paternal uncles' houses in the same village, at each eating and drinking the same items. On their return home they are husband and wife, but they do not spend the night together." It also says: "The Miao do not object to marriage
[582] between people of the same surname, but relatives do not marry. On the wedding night the bride sleeps with her mother, who leaves only when the groom gives her some silver as a gift /95/, called the "mother's money" or "milk money." It is generally about two or three liang of silver. A wealthy family,
556 seeing a pretty girl, might order their son to drag the girl from
583 behind. This is called "carrying off a woman and marrying
584 her by force." The girl's family attracted by their wealth, do not engage the girl to anyone else, but get a go-between to discuss betrothal presents. When a virgin has an affair with
836 a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds her
684 desirable. But, if one's wife or concubine is seduced, then
[837] they raise knives, facing each other, and money is required as compensation. If a husband and wife do not get along,
586 the husband may divorce her and marry again, and the wife may do the same. As to improper sexual conduct, instances
837 were very rare even in former days, and today the Miao have become more aware of ethical and moral obligations." (What is recorded in the Miao Fang Pei Lan is to the same effect.)

/98 cont./

574 for three days, the same as at the time of "sticking in incense."
575 They are also entertained in rotation by the closest relatives of the host. After breakfast on the third day a large table is set
583 up in the main room. Eloquent elder men and women of the
585 two families are invited to sit down around the table to count and announce the number of presents from the bride's family. First, the suit, shoes, and hat from the bride's parents to the son-in-law are announced, next the material for trousers from the guests to the groom, and then the presents from the bride's family to the elders of the groom's family. Then they record the cash and articles presented by the groom's family in return to the bride's family. For instance, if the dowry from the girl's family was 80 strings of cash, the groom's family returns
[556] 50. In a family of wealth, this money is usually left with the bride and not taken back. The guests who presented trousers receive one or two strings of cash in return. The bridesmaids also receive one or two strings of cash. The bride's family receives a pig's leg, and the go-between gets a pig's head.
[533] While the presents are being announced, the men and women sitting around the table talk and sing, in response to each other. (See Chapter 11, "Folk Songs," songs no. 19, 20, 21, and 22, "Seeing the Guests off on the Third Morning.) During these
585 three days the bride and groom do not share the same room. When the bride's family is escorted back, the bride goes along and stays for one or three days before she comes back to her new home to share the room with the groom.

586 Divorces are very easy with the Miao. The lack of good looks, a difference in wealth between the families, incompatibility, lack of good behavior — any of these constitutes grounds for divorce. Either side may initiate a divorce action. The children of a divorced couple are generally kept by the man, but an unweaned baby is kept by the woman to be restored to the man when it grows up. If the man's family is destitute, the children are kept by the woman's family. After the divorce
587 either side may remarry at will.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

691 sake of the bribes, squeezes, and fees that are
661 to be obtained from the litigants. The average incumbency of a district magistrate in Kweichow is not, we think, over twelve months.

Not only do the Yamen people profit by the cases brought before the magistrate, but very often underlings, and others in league with the Yamen, foment litigation and exhort the simple country-folk to take their grievances, or reopen their cases, before the magistrate. The longer a case lasts, and the more people can be drawn into it, the more profit there is for the Yamen. Very often cases are trumped up and false accusations made, and even if the accused finally obtains a verdict in his favour, it will only be after he has been mercilessly squeezed by these harpies. Probably on account of their ignorance and the lack of men among them with literary degrees, which would give them the privilege of interviewing the magistrate, the Miao are even more squeezed than the Chinese. Yamen secretaries, however, are neither partial nor particular, but always willing and zealous to extort money from everybody they can lay their hands on.

594 Among the Miao nearly all the disputes
586 arise on account of their land or their women. They recognise the marriage relation, but do

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

not observe it as strictly as the Chinese. Miao 594
women have more liberty and are more uncon- 586
ventional than Chinese women, and conse-
quently many of their marriages are the result
of mutual liking. Not infrequently, however,
a girl is practically sold for money to a husband
chosen by the parents, and in these cases the
result is often disastrous. The young woman
will probably run away from her husband's
home and continue to meet her lover. If
pressure is brought to bear upon her from her
parents or parents-in-law, as it generally is,
she may return to her husband's home, make
herself thoroughly disagreeable, and run away
again in a short time. After this has happened 586
repeatedly, the husband in despair tries all he
can to find out who is the lover. When he
finds this out, he sends an invitation to the
lover and to his wife's people to come before
the elders of the district and talk over his
grievance. Sometimes these discussions last
for days. The husband pretends to want his
wife back, but as a matter of fact he has had
quite enough of her, and really desires to have
the money he paid for her returned to him.
The wife's father pretends to be very angry,
says his daughter was not well treated, that
notwithstanding the hard work she had to do

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

586 and the little food she got, she is willing to return, but her husband has never come to his home to fetch her. Note, it is the custom for a husband to make a present to his wife's father on such an occasion.

Many angry words are spoken by the three parties concerned, and after everybody has added his or her word to the discussion, the case may be ended by the elders suggesting that the lover should repay the husband the cost of his wife and marry her himself, and that the husband should take the money and go elsewhere for a wife. If, however, the lover's influence is strong, the elders may decide that the girl go back to her husband, knowing that she will do nothing of the sort, or will not stay with him if she does go back. The case is thus only postponed for another time. We have assisted at some of the discussions of these matrimonial cases and know how hard they [691] are to settle. These daughter-in-law cases are not often brought before the Chinese magistrate, except when they have led to fighting, and, as sometimes happens, to serious wounds and homicide.

627 In the west and north-west of the province, when the Miao are the tenants of the I-chia landholders, all disputes about the land are

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

When she came in sight the young women and some girls went to meet her, and she asked them to go before her to her home. When she arrived at home two women stood just inside the door, one on each side, with a pot and a small cup. I think all the guests were offered whisky, but I only saw the bride drink it. Inside were many guests assembled who were drinking. Some of the schoolgirls came in to see me during the evening, all of them smelling of whisky. The feasting, singing, and gambling went on all night and for three days. I saw some of the women quite tipsy."

After returning to her home, the girl remains with her parents till she is sent for by her husband's family, which usually happens at sowing or reaping time, when there is much work to be done. When sent for, the bride goes to her husband's home without any fuss, takes her place in her new home, and does her share of the house and farm work. Sometimes, if the husband or husband's family are not satisfied with the bride, they do not ask her to return, in which case she gets married to another man. Among the Hua Miao it is the rule not to send for the newly married till she has had her first baby.

Not only do the Miao sing and recite the old

[21 cont.]

585 and drinking, which lasts throughout the night, neither hosts nor guests retiring. That night, the bride and groom do not share the room together. When tired the bride may lie down with the groom's younger sister. The next day the bride and her kinsmen return to her home. After three more days the bride is re-escorted to her husband's family by her brothers and male cousins. After a few days' stay she returns once more to her parents. Thus the wedding ceremony officially terminates. Later, every
591 time the husband wants his wife back he has to send over two or three sheng of glutinous rice to her family, and she will then come back with an escort of her kinsmen. Each year from the second to the eighth lunar month when farm work in her husband's family requires the help of the wife, she often goes over [22] but only for a few days as a guest without participating in housecleaning and cooking. Not until she becomes pregnant does the wife begin normal living with her husband to assume the responsibilities of the mistress of the household. This custom probably is a vestige of the transition from a maternal to a paternal society. In a maternal society the married woman does not leave her parents after marriage. The fact that the Miao woman does not stay with her husband before his child is born is probably due to this tradition. The paternal society lays much emphasis upon offsprings: only those women capable
583 of procreation are considered good wives. The marriage before
591 conception, from the point of view of having heirs, is only experimental. Therefore the wife cannot enjoy all her rights and privileges, and at the same time she may not assume the responsibilities associated with them. The result is a sort of quasi-marriage, that is, marriage in fact but not in form.

586 There are a small number of pre-arranged marriages
[584] among the Short-skirt Hê Miao, negotiated by parents when the parties concerned are mere children. In such a marriage the bride often refuses to go back to her husband's family soon after returning to her own. This kind of girl is allowed to marry again on the condition that her second husband pays indemnity to the first one for expenses which the latter may incur in another

[22 cont.]
586 marriage. The amount of indemnity varies from under one hundred to several hundred dollars, fixed and guaranteed by relatives of both families at the time of negotiation to avoid future complications. Of course, this kind of divorce is not only limited to pre-arranged marriages by parents, the fact is that even in marriages of love, separations often occur due to incompatibility and difference of opinions. But whenever children are born within the wedlock, divorces never occur.

768 587 [589] There are very few cases of young widowhood among the Miao-I. According to customs a young widow may return to her own family six months after the death of her husband. Among the neighboring Long-skirt Miao the wife may go out through the back door to "yao-ma lang" with another man hardly before her husband breathes his last on the deathbed. The children of the deceased father generally remain in his family to be looked after by the grandparents, but the widow may bring them along to her own family if her deceased husband's family is poor and unable to support them. [23] At the same time the widow's parents may proceed to find another husband for their daughter. After marriage the second husband has to pay $4.20 to the wife's family, from which $1.20 is given to the deceased husband's family as "incense money" for sacrifices to his spirit. At the wedding the bride is escorted on foot by two old women to her husband's house, where feasts may be given and the occasion celebrated if his family is well-to-do.

582 Of course, the Miao also have certain taboos in their marriage system. Between sisters and brothers, between cousins and, like the Chinese, between parties of the same surname, no marriage takes place. Sometimes certain families are not matched with others although their surnames are different. For instance, the Yang family at P'ing-chai in the Chou-ch'i district in Lu-shan never have marital relations with the Pan family across the river at Hsin-chai. Between the Chinese and the Miao there are also very few instances of intermarriage. In the country the Miao, who consist of the majority of the population, maintain the most friendly relations in utter social equality

[167 cont.]

684 The adulterous wife usually is repudiated and her parents must
586 refund the dowry. The betrayed husband has the right to kill his wife and even her accomplice. This right is almost never exercised.

N. B. — We have said above (paragraph relative to the general
548 character of the "Méo" that many "Méo" young women were of rather
778 easy virtue and even examples of prostitution are cited without the slightest dishonor to those engaged in it. All Europeans who have passed through Dongvan or have lived there for a while, are familiar with the famous "sacred wood" located within a few hundred meters of the post (it may be seen in the background of photo 467, Plate 41). This wood, of small extent, is situated between two hills. There are very fine trees, several groups of rather picturesque rocks, and it encloses the ruins of an ancient pagoda.

548 When a European goes for a walk in this wood, one may soon see descending from the neighboring hillsides where they are working, several young "Méo" women coming to offer the stroller their smiles and ... all the rest. It is only just to add, however, that the nymphs of the "sacred wood" of Dongvan do not always belong to the "Méo" group and that they also include young "Lolo" women (of the kind photo 465, Plate 30 shows).

764 The respect and worship of the dead are not as rigorously ob-
[769] served among the "Méo" as in the other groups. The funerals, like the other great events of life — births and marriages — are scarcely more than occasions for drinking and feasting.

The corpse, dressed in his best clothes, is fastened standing upright against one of the walls of the hall of honor, where relatives, neighbors, and friends are gathered together. For three days the feasts and the dances alternate without interruption. The deceased is invited to share in the meals and often small pieces of meat are placed in his mouth. In certain tribes, a dog is killed, which then
[825] is fastened to the hand of the deceased by means of a paper ribbon. This dog is charged with guiding the steps of his master on the pathways of the other life.

The site of the grave designated by the priest-sorcerer, the corpse is carried on a stretcher to the place of burial. When a coffin is built, the placing of the body in the bier is done at the last moment, at [168] the edge of the trench, as soon as it is dug. The cortège,

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/111 cont./

M 587 "Courtship and Betrothal" in this chapter); if the husband dies, however, among the Meau the oldest of the younger brothers of the deceased usually takes the widow or widows into his house as his wives. It is up to each individual, however, to choose whether or not he wants to take this course. Matters are usually arranged so that the widows who are old and have many children become the wives of the brother of the deceased; the young and pretty widows, however, who do not as yet have many children, marry an outsider. The brother does not have to pay a purchase price for the widows, but the outsider must pay approximately the sum paid for a girl, with the price adjusted according to the number of children and their youth; M [614] the fewer and the younger the children of the widow are, the higher the price, which is shared by the membersof the sib.

A 587 [292] /112/ Among the Akha the widow again goes to the dancing places with the young girls, after she has removed the veiling of the bamboo cover of her head adornment (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments"); and henceforth her behavior does not differ in any way from that of the girls. In general, however, it is about six to twelve months before she decides to enter another marriage, in which case she must leave her children with the family of the deceased. If she does not want to do this, she has no other course but to renounce any new marriage. As A [589] a consequence, Akha women who are somewhat older and are richer in children usually do not marry again, whereas young women with few or no children usually take the course of re- A marriage. Among neither the Meau nor the Akha, however, M [614] do widows return to their original sib; if the widow was [851] pregnant at the time of the death of the husband, the posthumous child belongs to the sib of the deceased, but later children belong to the new husband.

M ● 586 [769] Aside from the dissolution of marriage through the death of one of the spouses there is such through divorce. It is rare, however, because among the Meau it is regarded as unacceptable to the ancestors. Savina (1), too, writes that divorces are

1. II, p. 226.

/112 cont./

581 769 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 837 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce, though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has [558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the [684] adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children [851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price belong to the former husband. The future children belong to the new husband only after the final payment of the bride price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon [614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no [578] easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such [595] sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common. The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law, whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain her freedom.

586 648 587 [583] If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

/113 cont./

586 the rich and the poor. If the woman is young and pretty, it is
648 usually simple for the trader to persuade another rich Meau in a
[587] far-distant village to take the woman and to repay the bride
583 price to the first husband. Otherwise, the trader sells the
[548] woman as a prostitute to one of the Chinese brothels.

In principle, the deceived husband has the right to kill
586 the adulteress and her seducer; in practice, this is hardly ever
837 done. Both Abadie (1) and Lanjonquière (2) write in the same
[114]

1. Page 167.

2. II.

words that generally the affair is settled through repudiation of the wife and repayment of the bride price. Dhuraratsadorn (3),
[184]

3. Page 169.

however, reports that among the Meau in Thailand, if a wife commits adultery, her husband can get a divorce only with her consent. If she refuses, the marriage has to be continued. He says that the wife has no divorce-right at all because she -- since she is not permitted to return to her parents' house -- would have to support herself. This could be done, however, only under the greatest difficulties.

[114] /114/ These statements sound improbable, and I did not
[184] find them confirmed among the Meau in Thailand. It is possible, however, in case of a seduction of a wife, that the deceived husband asks his village chief to convene the popular assembly. In exceptional cases, the seducer may then be condemned to pay the entire bride price to the husband, while the wife must nevertheless remain with her husband as before.

586 Bad treatment is no more grounds for divorce than wife's laziness or a husband's inability to support his wife or childlessness. In all these cases, too, the bride price is not repaid.